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Pat Sloan
'Fresh Look'?

Jim Cornelius
General Strike

Gordon Schaffer
Peace Forum

Margaret Ling
Rhodesia Clamp-Down

P. Cornejo/Chile : W. Page/UFWA Struggle
H. Levenson/New Law : J. Peet/Edited Films

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Survey—April 11, 1976

'FRESH LOOK'?

'The present attack of capital on labour is international in its character. From every country comes the same story of economic depression, all-round cuts in wages and ineffectual resistance.'
'Notes of the Month', *Labour Monthly*, Vol 1, No 1, July 1921.

'The level of real incomes is continuing to fall under the impact of the recession and the government's pay and prices policy, according to the Department of Employment's latest wages and earnings figures.'
Financial Times, March 19, 1976.

'Most of the low paid, particularly families with children, were markedly worse off last year although many of them received the full £6 per week increase under the government's pay policy. . . . These are the main conclusions of the third annual poverty report, edited by Professor Peter Wilmott.'
Times, March 18, 1976.

'On unchanged policies the prospects for reducing unemployment are limited, as the likely growth of output over the next two years is incompatible with the reduction of unemployment to 1973 levels by 1978.'
TUC Economic Review 1976.

'A level of unemployment higher in 1980 than at present, and a lower level of real earnings, are forecast by the Cambridge Economic Policy Group. . . .
'The group calls for a radical strategy of long-term import controls. . . .
'Another conclusion of embarrassment to the government is that incomes policies cannot permanently depress wage settlements below the level which would result from free collective bargaining.'
Financial Times, March 29, 1976.

In the interim between the announcement of Harold Wilson's resignation and the election of Jim Callaghan, one event of international significance deserves note. This was the visit to Britain of Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister.

The visit was heralded in the Tory press with dire threats concerning the alleged invasion of Angola by Russian troops (presumably

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with snow on their boots), and intervention by Cuba. It is therefore of interest to record that in the joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit it was noted that agreement had been reached on many matters, including 'effective steps to end the arms race', the achievement of agreement 'concerning a new convention on the law of the sea', trade, environmental protection and the development of transport and energy. But on southern Africa the communiqué merely stated that 'they exchanged opinions on the situation in the south of Africa and set out their respective positions.' This formula bears an interesting resemblance to the reference to Vietnam in the joint communiqué issued at the time of President Nixon's visit to Moscow.

One result of the talks is that an exchange of visits by warships is to take place before the end of May. It may be remembered that the last time a Soviet warship stayed in a British port it was conveying Khrushchov and Bulganin on an official visit. The visit of the ship was marred by the strange disappearance of a British frogman in the very close vicinity of the Soviet battleship. In this field, at least, it appears that a 'fresh look' is taking place.

'Fresh Look' through Old Eyes

Harold Wilson, in his resignation broadcast, expressed belief in the benefits of a 'fresh look'. But, apart from the above, how 'fresh' has the look turned out to be? Denis Healey has carried on as Chancellor, and has produced a budget which aroused less enthusiasm at the time of delivery than any previous budget in recent years. The cabinet has been slightly switched around, but Roy Jenkins still carries on as Pontius Pilate; Shirley Williams is now to be Paymaster General as well as holding on to her previous job (possibly because she is to have less and less to do about prices!); Michael Foot will now be 'No 2', Lord President of the Council and Leader of the Commons, while his ministry passes to Albert Booth; Tony Crosland will go to the Foreign Office; and Edmund Dell takes Trade and David Ennals Social Services. Tony Benn remains where he is. How 'fresh', we may well ask, is the 'fresh look'?

The election of Jim Callaghan was a well-fought contest. The economic establishment would clearly have preferred 'Mr Jenkins or Mr Healey, and preferably Mr Jenkins', as the *Times* said editorially on March 20. 'The strength of Mr Foot's support is not surprising,' it said a week later, 'but it is disturbing.' And the *Economist* on March 27 wrote that 'as the alternative to Mr Callaghan has been touted as being Mr Michael Foot, there can be thanks for some

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mercies.' Among the 'mercies' listed by the *Economist* were 'a welcoming damping down again of uncertainty about government policies. . . . He is going to be prime minister of a government which will have to be cutting government expenditure again and again.'

The *Economist*'s forecast about 'damping down of uncertainties' came true at once, with the budget. Reporting its effects, the *Times*, (April 8) commented in a headline: 'Budget reassures US on Britain's resolve.' And Mr Callaghan, in an early statement, declared that he was against 'cliques', the reference obviously being directed against the Tribune Group more than any other. What Mr Callaghan failed to mention was that this particular 'clique' is striving to secure the full implementation of Labour's electoral policy, and of the decisions of the Labour Party Executive.

Mr Healey's Con Trick

The first major statement of the new government has been described as Mr Healey's 'two-hour marathon', of which 'one-third . . . was devoted to securing trade union acceptance of a pay settlement next summer equivalent to a 3 per cent increase in incomes.' Looked at from another point of view it is significant that, while the budget was said to be devoted to 'jobs and inflation', it was admitted that unemployment would not fall below 3 per cent (or 750,000) before 1979. And as to 'price control', this was hardly mentioned. A third point worth noting is that details on pensions were left to Barbara Castle to give the next day, when it turned out that the worst period of inflation has been left out in assessing new rates.

But far the most important feature of the proposals lies in the attempt to bargain with the trade unions for acceptance of a drastically low ceiling for wage increases, to be £2 in place of the present £6 which has already seriously reduced working class living standards. It is this proposal which has aroused most discussion, and it is this which is the major con in the budget. It is a con trick for two reasons:

Firstly, it is a blatant attack on wages as such. For the workers are being told that, in place of collective bargaining, and in place of getting a wage increase only one-third of this year's, they are to accept these further sacrifices and then be 'repaid' by tax relief. In other words, if Healey's calculations are correct, employers will be relieved of paying wages, and if the Treasury makes good the workers' loss by tax relief, then, in fact, profits will once again be being indirectly subsidised by the government in yet another new way.

Not only have the employers been consistently gaining hand-outs

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from the government in well-established ways, but now, in addition, if the TUC agrees to accept the proposed minimal wage increase, the workers' tax reliefs will be made up, we are told, to at least the £6 a week maximum of the present year. So a low-wage policy is continued, but the employers, instead of having to pay wages rising in proportion to prices, are to receive what actually works out as a further wage subsidy given in the form of tax relief to all wage earners. Ingenious. An ingenious con trick.

But still more important, by introducing this matter for discussion, Healey has cleverly diverted attention away from the key question of inflation, namely, *price control.* In two and a quarter full pages of the *Times* report of the budget speech, not more than seventeen lines were given to 'price control', and they were indeed ominous: Healey said that:

> the present price code expires at the end of July. . . . I can give an assurance that in reaching conclusions the government will take full account of the needs of industry, and in particular of the need to allow a sufficient recovery of profits to encourage the new investment we need.

So it is probably no accident that Shirley Williams is now being saddled with many additional responsibilities, since, as we all know, 'industry', as embodied in the Confederation of British Industry, wants all price controls out of the way.

But how can the TUC fall for this? The new 'bargain' that has been presented to them counterposes *wages* and *taxation.* But it is *wages* and *prices* that form the real problem. If Healey can get the trade union movement into a fruitless wrangle over his new 'bargain', then the main aim of the trade unions, to defend real wages, is swept under the carpet. In commenting on the Healey device, Len Murray, Secretary of the TUC, at least mentioned, though not with the emphasis that the subject deserves, that prices have got to be considered.

Pre-Budget Demands

In the period leading up to the budget a number of proposals were made for a change of line of the kind which would have put flesh and blood once again into Labour's policy. The TUC, in its *Economic Review 1976*, clearly indicated that an expanding economy was essential to combat unemployment, and advocated 'an overall boost to demand of £1,000 million in 1976-77'. It further urged that the National Enterprise Board (NEB) be granted £1,000 million a year rather than over a five year period. And it urged far stricter import

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controls, if only on a short-term basis which it felt would not run contrary to our obligations to the EEC and GATT. The TUC made no mention at all, however, of the need to cut arms expenditure in fulfilment of the Labour Party's declared policy.

Using the report of the Royal Commission on Distribution, the TUC shows that in 1973 (the latest figures) 0.1 per cent of the population owned 12 per cent of all private wealth, 1 per cent of the population owned 28.1 per cent of all private wealth, and the bottom 80 per cent between them owned 17.6 per cent. The top group of about 31,000 persons have estates worth £200,000 each; the bottom 50 per cent own on average £700 each. Finally, the top 3.5 per cent owned 90 per cent of all quoted company shares and 91 per cent of all privately owned land. On taxation, the burden on the top groups has been lessened, while on the bottom 60 per cent it has been increased. Hence the TUC regrets that existing procedures have 'slowed down the legislation of the wealth tax' which they anticipate this autumn, though Mr Healey said not a word about it in his budget speech.

While the TUC officially represents the working class and is pledged to the so-called 'social contract', a report by the Cambridge Economic Policy Group is a very different matter. The Group is chaired by Mr Wynne Godley, former head of economic forecasting at the Treasury. This group's report created wide comment. Mr Healey's technique of 'tinkering with the system' was written off before this year's budget as being 'too little or of no avail'. The Cambridge report, in many respects along orthodox capitalist lines, foresaw a prospect of either a 40 per cent inflation or long-term import controls as essential, despite the fact that such controls would cause offence in EEC and GATT circles.

In addition, we had in our last issue the proposals of Geoffrey Drain, General Secretary of the National and Local Government Officers' Association; and the National Union of Public Employees has also issued a report based on its Executive's decision in 1975 to oppose the government's wage policy. The NUPE recommendations included 'a reduction in the crippling burden of overseas defence spending . . . strict control over prices of essential items', with 'price control at all levels . . . a wealth tax as a matter of urgency . . . import controls on a wide range of manufactured goods' and 'an end to the attack on public services and public spending'.

Another contribution to the pre-budget discussion is worth mentioning here, for it is rare for the *Economist* to invite a 'socialist economist' to contribute to its columns. However, on April 3 it did just this.

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Stuart Holland calculates that the British economy is now 'five times more multinational than its major competitors . . . big business domination is now so total that consumer sovereignty, with choice between many producers, has been transformed into a producer sovereignty of administered pricing and joint-monopoly markets,' and the economy is dominated by fewer and fewer firms. 'There are more than half a million British companies; but less than 1 per cent of them account for half Britain's assets, half its output and half its trade . . . the top 100 companies accounted for one-fifth of manufacturing output in 1950, one-half in 1970,' and a continuation of this trend will take us to two-thirds by 1985. Among our exporters there are some 10,000 firms, of which 220 account for two-thirds, 75 for half, and 31 for two-fifths.

Against this monopoly-dominated background, it is surely plain that monopolistic price-fixing policies play a major role in modern inflation. This can only be combated by strict price and profit control, with the sanction that, if companies do not invest, then the NEB should take them over and do the investing on our behalf. To help to finance this, the long-postponed wealth tax could provide an answer.

Having painted the background in its true colours, Stuart Holland lines up with 'the Labour Party national executive, the Trades Union Congress and the "Tribune Group" ' in calling for a 'restraint of the major net outflow of capital abroad', by which, he says, we could save £1 billion on the balance of payments; bringing forward and extending the proposed wealth tax; the slashing of £1 billion off defence expenditure, and the imposing of stricter import controls.

Finally, in pre-budget recommendations, we must mention also the Confederation of British Industry, uniting as it does big business and Tory policies. Speaking at Durham on March 20, Sir Campbell Adamson, Director-General of the CBI, condemned four years of price control as having 'creamed off badly-needed cash and curtailed company investment.' He added that 'most of the money to pay for that investment must come out of companies' profits.' And he went on:

> Any feeling that a tough pay policy is to be matched by a tough price policy will damage the very thing we all want—more industrial activity and more jobs.

According to the *Financial Times* of March 26, the CBI

> wants a simple profit margin control based on more generous profit ceilings than the present code allows. . . . For its part, the government now seems to accept that prices will have to be allowed to rise more freely if investment is to be stimulated.

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Which Side is Healey?

Let us now consider, one by one, the way in which Denis Healey treated in his budget speech the considerable number of recommendations urged upon him. First, the demand for a stimulus to the economy to expand, by giving a 'boost' of £1,000 million in the budget. Mr Healey's reply was brief, to the point, and entirely negative: 'My budget must not on balance add much to demand.' As to the suggestion that the NEB should be given far greater scope, it was totally ignored, since Mr Healey, throughout, was concerned only with private profit in order to finance private investment.

As regards import controls, whether short-term or long-term, the reply was again negative. Mr Healey ruled out categorically any 'large scale and semi-permanent restriction on imports' as offensive to GATT, the EEC and the IMF. Nothing at all was said about restricting capital exports, and the long-promised wealth tax, due for this summer's mini-budget, was not even mentioned at all.

It is an ironical fact that at the very time that Mr Healey was delivering his speech the value of sterling was falling below any previous level. This surely confirms the 'pessimistic' prophesies of the Cambridge Group, if nothing dramatic is done about it. But if the Healey budget had one outstanding characteristic, it was its lack of any dramatic attempt to control what is happening except in one direction, the increasing of profit, and with that, of 'confidence', in the businessman's sense of the term.

Whatever Margaret Thatcher may say, the fact remains that of all those organisations we have quoted as contributing to the pre-budget debate, the CBI alone can claim to have come out of it well. The 'tough pay policy' is there alright, in contradiction to all recommendations to the contrary. A 'tough price policy' is not there; prices are almost entirely ignored, and when the reconsideration of the price code comes up in July it is quite clear who Mr Healey intends to listen to.

Socialist Principles

The fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism is that, while capitalism is geared towards profit-making, socialism is geared towards maximising production. Wherever capitalism dominates, then the race for profits is dominant, and every possible excuse will be used for the making of profit, such as the view that profits must be made for production to expand. Denis Healey has grasped this doctrine with both hands.

When socialism dominates, production is planned so as to maxi-

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mise the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the community. Plans are first drawn up for *outputs*, and the financial system is used for the lubrication of the production plan.

Unfortunately, in the present age of monopoly domination, numerous companies can increase their *profits* by actually restricting output. Hence the endless 'mountains' of food-stuffs being piled up under the auspices of the EEC, forcing up food prices and thus furthering inflation. Hence also the present crisis of ever-rising prices and unemployment at the same time. Prices and profits must go up, but both technical advances and restrictions in supply create redundancies. Hence, prices and profits rise, but the brunt is borne by the unemployed workers.

In this situation, especially in a world in which the multinationals now play a leading role, any socialist orientated government must secure its national independence. In 1918 in Russia, Lenin stressed that one vital condition for socialism was a state monopoly of foreign trade. This is as true today as it was then: to plan independently for Britain we need to import what is socially necessary, which includes many raw materials for our export industries. But there are a great many products which we do not need to import—the TUC's report lists in particular motor cars and components, electronic components including TV tubes, cutlery, textiles, clothing and footwear. To Denis Healey's argument that GATT, the IMF and the EEC would oppose such controls, Stuart Holland suggested in the *Economist* article that at least action could at once be taken in all cases of 'suspected dumping' and that we could 'follow the practices of most GATT countries by suspending imports while prima facie reasonable complaints were being investigated, rather than allowing imports meantime to flood the market.'

The argument about 'retaliation', much used on the right, in fact applies to everything which we could do to improve the balance of payments. Retaliation is possible against devaluation; it is possible against any form of government subsidising of industry (which Healey's proposed substitution of tax-reliefs for wages undoubtedly is), as it is possible against any form of quota system on imports. But all countries, to some degree, are using these methods.

The ironical fact is that the traditional theory of 'free trade' was born in Britain at the very time when, as 'workshop of the world', we enjoyed a monopoly for industrial products. It was cheap and easy then to coin a 'theory of comparative costs' which said that each country should be 'free' to export and import what suited it most.

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But today we are no longer the 'workshop of the world', and in place of what economists liked to consider a 'free market' we are faced with world-wide multinationals which switch their resources from country to country as it suits them, give employment or take it away—not in accordance with any national interest, but with the interest of their own profit alone, and speculate in their holdings of money which they shift from capital to capital from day to day in search of maximum interest.

Against all this a far tighter control of foreign trade, especially of imports of goods and export of capital, is essential.

Mr Healey's obsession with the need to increase private profit in order to encourage investment also falls short of the mark. If capital is at the free disposal of capitalists, they will invest abroad rather than at home whenever it suits them. To prohibit the export of capital on the one hand, and to develop state investment on the other, using the wealth tax as a means of raising funds for the purpose, would provide a socialist solution, geared not to profit, but to raising production within the country.

Alas, Healey's budget promises none of these things.

General Strike and Unemployed Assembly

There is no doubt that the fiftieth anniversary of the General Strike is being widely celebrated by the labour movement. The fact that the Greater London Council voted the sum of £10,000 towards an exhibition in commemoration has aroused much Tory fury. On the premises of Surrey University at Brighton a very representative conference is being held, and in South Wales the miners organised a week-end school in April. Articles are also appearing both inside and outside the columns of the labour press.

It is clear that interpretations of the General Strike differ greatly. On the one hand, in an article in a local newspaper by a trades council secretary, the lessons drawn are entirely in line with the present disastrous policy of the 'social contract':

> Among the bitter lessons learnt in 1926 was the appreciation by trade union leaders that the only way to achieve effective social change lay in a more positive partnership between the unions and the government.

The alternative was clearly stated by Des Warren, in a message delivered from prison by his wife, Elsa, to the National Assembly on Unemployment at the end of March. This Assembly was a record turn-out of more than 3,000 delegates from trade unions, co-operative

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organisations, the Labour Party and students. To it Des Warren's message read in part:

> And if we are to solve not only the unemployment problem but many others too, the labour movement must use its industrial strength to influence political decisions in favour of the working class.

This message will be seen by all supporters of left unity on this fiftieth anniversary of the General Strike as a fitting reminder that now, as then, left unity of the working class in action alone points the way to further advance. **P.S.**

CORRECTION

Labour Monthly, April 1976, page 149, line 27: A statement from the *Guardian* was attributed in error to the *Financial Times*.

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Chairman Regional C/EE

J. Freeman
Regional Secretary

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W. H. KEYS
General Secretary

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OWEN O'BRIEN
General Secretary

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ASLEF

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May Day Greetings

to all
TRADE UNIONISTS
and
LABOUR MOVEMENT
WORKERS

R. W. BUCKTON
General Secretary

NATIONAL UNION OF SHEET METAL WORKERS, COPPERSMITHS AND HEATING AND DOMESTIC ENGINEERS

May Day greetings to all trade unionists and their families

L. W. BUCK
General Secretary

May Day greetings from ACTT

With our society once more defaced by massive unemployment, May Day 1976 will be a bitter experience for more than a million families.

Only an active trade union policy will give them the possibility of celebrating May Day in 1977.

ALAN SAPPER
General Secretary
Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION OF REGION 4 (WALES)

SEND
FRATERNAL GREETINGS
TO FELLOW
TRADE UNIONISTS
THROUGHOUT
THE WORLD

GEORGE WRIGHT
Regional Secretary

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORUM

Gordon Schaffer

THE York Forum, March 28—April 1, 1976, secured the enthusiastic support of a broader and more influential section of British public opinion than any previous peace conference, and it did so in face of the most virulent cold-war, anti-Soviet campaign since the 1950s. That is its most important achievement, because it proved that, despite all the attempts to sabotage hopes of disarmament and the return to the witch-hunting technique of denouncing all who want to reduce arms expenditure as people acting against the interests of their country, the peace forces have grown stronger.

The Forum was welcomed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, sent a message of wholehearted support, with the reminder that the world spends more on armaments than on health, education and social welfare combined. The Chairman of the TUC, Cyril Plant, spoke at the opening session, bringing fraternal greetings from the General Council. The National Executive of the Labour Party was officially represented, and Lord Gardiner, former Lord Chancellor, chaired the proceedings.

Alexander Kalyadin, of the Soviet Union, also in the opening session, affirmed his country's demand for specific measures to stop the arms race, to reduce stockpiles and to pursue the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. 'All our countries,' he said, 'whatever their social system, will benefit by a reduction in arms expenditure. We need a stable peace to carry out our five year plan to raise living standards.'

Abdul Minty of Anti-Apartheid, reminded the conference that southern Africa represented the 'last bastion of the old world', and that the support given to South Africa by Nato carried the threat of a major confrontation between the freedom movements and the Western powers.

The 'Declaration of York', unanimously approved in the final session, provides a platform on which the many varied viewpoints represented at the Forum can unite. It recorded the 'common conviction' concerning the desperate urgency of an end to the arms race, and it demanded 'the conclusion without delay of an international convention abolishing nuclear weapons, all offensive weapons and weapons of mass destruction.'

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The declaration called for a world disarmament conference under the sponsorship of the United Nations with adequate representation of non-governmental organisations. It added the demand that, as a first step, the use of nuclear weapons should at once be prohibited as a crime against humanity. This sentence is of special importance. It repeats the call made in the first Stockholm appeal more than a quarter of a century ago, and it is a clear renunciation of the declared policy of Nato to rely in certain circumstances on the first use of nuclear weapons.

The presence of a large delegation from Japan, and their moving accounts of the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the effects still being suffered by the second and third generations, made a tremendous impression.

Certainly none of the major issues was evaded, and the discussions in the Commissions provided encouraging evidence that, despite wide differences of approach, there was virtual unanimity on a number of fundamental questions. There was agreement that our own economic crisis demands cuts in arms expenditure and the diversion of resources to social needs. The practical plans for the transfer to peace production prepared by Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards' Committee was given a warm welcome and bids fair to become a blueprint for the movement.

The Commission dealing with disarmament and the developing countries faced the grim fact that a struggle for liberation in southern Africa is imminent and, although some delegates urged non-violent resistance, there was condemnation of any attempt to deprive resistance fighters of the means of defence against the sophisticated weapons of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Dame Peggy Ashcroft in a message read on behalf of women from many countries reminded the conference that the world spent £200,000 a minute on arms while millions starved.

Ray Buckton of the locomen's union (ASLEF) made an impassioned appeal for the peace struggle to be placed on the agenda of every trade union. Philip Noel Baker declared: 'Our enemies deliberately put difficulties in the way in order that the Forum might fail. It is they who have failed. We are united in a common purpose to make disarmament the first objective of national and international policy in every country in the world.'

Noel Baker was correct. The Forum was a success, despite the attempt to sabotage it. Nevertheless, the circumstances which prevented the world conference from being carried out as planned must be studied. The decision to hold the Forum was taken by a

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group comprising many international organisations set up by the Peace Congress held in Moscow in 1972. At that time, the international atmosphere seemed set fair for a genuine breakthrough to disarmament. The Helsinki conference was moving to a successful conclusion, and there was reason to hope that the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of forces in central Europe would be equally successful. By the end of 1975, the situation had changed. The Final Act of Helsinki, with its promise of creative coexistence between the European states, Canada and the US had been signed. But, instead of being welcomed as a step towards peace, it was the signal for a virulent cold war campaign. Mrs Thatcher, before she could possibly have read the text, denounced it in a statement about as factually accurate as the report by the *Daily Telegraph* in the first months of the Russian revolution that 'all the women had been nationalised.' Despite the fact that there had been no change in the military balance, we were treated to a mass propaganda campaign about vast Soviet superiority. The proposals of the Warsaw powers for equal reduction in all types of armament and troop levels were deliberately ignored.

The reason was blatantly admitted. The triumph of the MPLA in Angola (the body recognised by the Labour Party during the long struggle against the Portuguese) was termed 'Soviet aggression'. The overthrow of Portuguese fascism, the struggle of the progressive forces in Spain and the possibility of Communist participation in the governments of Italy and France were all given the same label.

All this had its repercussions on the York Forum with its declared aim 'to end the arms race and for world disarmament'. That strange character, Lord Chalfont, who was transformed from defence correspondent of the *Times* and proudly named 'Labour's Minister for Disarmament' in Mr Wilson's first government, headed the campaign. There was the equally strange episode in mid-January when visas for participants in a meeting of the international preparatory committee were refused, and others not requiring visas were interrogated for one to four hours at London Airport. The mention of the word disarmament was enough to ensure this special treatment.

Following vigorous protests, Roy Jenkins promised not to use visa or immigration control to hamper the conference and that pledge was kept, but refusal of four visas for socialist members of the international committee was maintained. The international committee took the view that a repetition of the situation would involve a confrontation with the British government which would not help the cause of detente. Thus the international character of the Forum had to be changed, but nevertheless delegates from many overseas

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countries attended. A world conference will now be held in Helsinki with the full co-operation of the Finnish government in August.

The 'Declaration of York' will be one of the key documents in a struggle of all the peoples of the world, to which it has made a valuable contribution.

THE LAW COMMISSION, CONSPIRACY AND SHREWSBURY

Howard Levenson
Legal Officer
National Council for Civil Liberties

THE Law Commission's Report on Conspiracy and Criminal Law Reform (Report No 76) published in March this year, makes a number of welcome recommendations for the reform of the law of conspiracy. How far does this go to help workers involved in industrial disputes? How would these suggestions have altered the decisions in the Shrewsbury building workers' case?

The Law Commission recommends that the offence of conspiracy should continue to exist, but should be limited to agreements to commit criminal offences. The prosecution should have to prove that the defendant agreed with another person that a course of conduct should be pursued which would necessarily result, if completed, in the commission of a criminal offence, and further, that they both intended to bring about any consequence which is an element of that offence.

It should be a rule of practice, says the Report, that, where a conspiracy count is based upon an agreement to commit offences charged in the other counts of the indictment, the prosecution is required to justify the addition of a conspiracy count. Conspiracy to commit a summary (minor) offence would remain a crime but should only be prosecuted 'in cases where there is deliberate planning of offences on a widespread scale.'

The sentence for conspiracy would be limited to the sentence for the substantive offence in most cases. The maximum penalty for conspiracy to commit an offence under Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875 (for example, intimidation) would be three months imprisonment. The Law Commission believes that this is what parliament intended in 1875, but that the Act was so

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badly drafted that courts have been able to give unlimited sentences for that type of conspiracy.

The Shrewsbury case arose out of the 1972 building strike when strike committees in some areas arranged mobile pickets who moved around the smaller sites persuading workers to strike. In the North Wales and Chester areas the police prepared a dossier on events for the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP). There is no space here to discuss the evidence in the case, but 35 men were prosecuted for a wide variety of offences. Eleven men were acquitted at Mold Crown Court of charges of intimidation. Twenty-four were committed for trial to Shrewsbury Crown Court on a total of 208 counts. Six of these men were charged, amongst other things, with unlawful assembly, affray and conspiracy to intimidate. Most of the charges arose from events on September 6, 1973, when six coaches were hired to take 250 pickets to a number of sites at Shrewsbury and Telford. It was alleged that at each site 'there was a terrifying display by pickets of force and violence actually committed or threatened against buildings, plant and equipment.' (It is interesting to note that no arrests were made at the time.)

It was alleged that the six men were the organisers of the picketing, and had intended that the pickets should intimidate workers to stop work. After the ten-week trial, all six were convicted of unlawful assembly. In addition, Jones, Tomlinson and Warren were convicted of affray and conspiracy to intimidate. They received prison sentences of nine months, two years, and three years respectively on each count, the sentences running concurrently. The conviction of affray was subsequently quashed by the Court of Appeal. Appeals against conviction on the other counts and against sentence were dismissed.

Before the Shrewsbury case, it was widely assumed that personal violence, or at least some threat of personal violence, had to be proved before the offence of intimidation was committed. However, in 1973, Sir Peter Rawlinson, the Conservative Attorney-General, said: 'If pickets by sheer numbers seek to stop people from going about their lawful business, they are not protected by the Act. . . . Indeed it is very hard to see how the attendance of large numbers of pickets can possibly be justified in the name of lawful, peaceful persuasion.' His speech was circulated to police forces and it was pointed out to them that 'sheer numbers attending can of itself constitute intimidation.' Many lawyers disputed this interpretation, but the Court of Appeal refused to clarify the point in the Shrewsbury case, except to say that intimidation was not limited to violence or threats of it to the person.

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Under the Law Commission's proposals, the prosecution would have to prove that the defendants intended a course of action which would necessarily amount to or involve the commission of an offence. If mass picketing is itself intimidation, then the organisers of a mass picket would still be liable to prosecution for conspiracy to intimidate merely by virtue of organising a mass picket. Thus the Law Commission's proposal is of little assistance while the definition of 'intimidation' is so dangerously wide.

The Law Commission would disallow a prosecution for conspiracy to commit a summary offence (including conspiracy) unless it had the consent of the DPP. (The present DPP is the same one who authorised the Shrewsbury prosecution; many of his decisions have been heavily criticised in recent years.) This would provide little protection. Nor would the requirement that the prosecutor has to justify a separate conspiracy charge. In the Shrewsbury case, the Court of Appeal said that 'the criminality disclosed by the evidence could not be represented by substantive charges alone.' It would also be up to the DPP to decide whether there was a 'deliberate planning of offences on a wide scale.' Given the record of the DPP, trade unionists and civil libertarians would be wise not to place too much trust in this provision as a safeguard.

Des Warren received a sentence of three years imprisonment for conspiracy to intimidate. The maximum sentence for intimidation itself is three months. The Law Commission proposals would have limited his sentence for conspiracy to three months. However, he also received three years for unlawful assembly and that sentence would not be affected. Unlawful assembly is very widely defined and can be proven by the same facts as prove intimidation.

It is very unlikely that the Law Commission's proposals would have stopped the Shrewsbury prosecution and sentences. Conspiracy will still exist, the same sort of prejudicial and hearsay evidence will still be admissible, and the law on intimidation and unlawful assembly remains the same. Trade unionists must not be misled by the general reforming nature of the Law Commission and should demand that reforms in the law go much further. They should also demand the restoration of effective picketing rights which the courts have whittled away, and should resist the new proposed trespass offences, especially the new offences of unlawful entry and possession of 'offensive weapons' on private property by a trespasser. Both of these would constitute grave threats to factory and work-place occupations. In some circumstances, 'offensive weapons' can include everyday objects such as eating utensils and tools, and also many objects

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likely to be found at a work place. The police would have wide powers of entry and arrest if they thought the new offences were being committed.

The law can be used as an unsubtle tool of class interest. The organised working class must be aware of this and not be blinded by fine-sounding liberal phrases emanating from the Law Commission and the Law Officers' Department.

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The South Wales miners and their families send May Day greetings to all workers in the country.

'We call upon the labour movement to demand that the government carry out policies as laid down in the Party manifesto.'

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President

W. H. THOMAS
Vice-President

G. REES
General Secretary

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MICHAEL McGAHEY, *President*
DAVID BOLTON, *Vice-President*
WILLIAM McLEAN
General Secretary

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

DERBYSHIRE AREA

JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENERAL STRIKE 1926

Derbyshire miners pay tribute to all members living, retired or passed on, who along with fellow trade unionists contributed so much to the development and advance of mineworkers.
Their resolution and strength was the foundation of the National Union of Mineworkers as we know it today.

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Noel Harris *National Secretary*

The No 2 DIVISIONAL COUNCIL of ASTMS

send greetings to all TUC associates and Colleagues everywhere for social justice, world-wide

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THE GENERAL STRIKE SUMMARISED

Jim Cornelius
Full-Time Official
National Union of Public Employees

IT is good to see the labour movement using its own resources to celebrate, document and analyse the greatest upsurge of working class anti-capitalist solidarity this country has ever seen. A new compilation of essays* combines the different experiences, researching, theoretical understanding, and writing abilities of the movement, particularly the Communist Party. By enclosing regional studies and personal reminiscences within two theoretical/factual essays at the beginning and an analysis of the consequences at the end, the layout is unusual and effective. It assists the person not used to ploughing through a long theoretical or historical work as well as the activist who reads spasmodically or between meetings.

The first essay by John Foster is a very good lead-in, showing the economic, social and political changes prior to 1926. It sets the scene and puts the strike in its historical context, 'as a specific product of the class forms evolved by the British working class over the previous century.'

The second essay by James Klugmann is vital reading and is so relevant to today. With its exposing of the role of the state it is the sort of essay that deserves a separate pamphlet. The part covering the run up to the strike and the nine days itself, brings out so well the role the TUC and particularly the right wing played. The section on the Communist Party gives useful information about the propaganda, organisation and effectiveness of the Party as well as showing its growth during and after the General Strike.

For me Klugmann's conclusions are the highlight of the book. Here are the lessons for the working class, the labour movement, the Communist Party and the social democrats: 'It is that the reformist outlook, quite irrespective of the personal sincerity or insincerity, morality or immorality of individual leaders, leads inexorably to conciliation and capitulation.'

The regional studies and personal reminiscences confirm that the General Strike in retrospect was not a failure, although it was viewed as such at the time and led to disillusionment. Trade union membership and affiliation to trades councils declined. There was, however,

* *The General Strike 1926*, edited by J. Skelley, *Lawrence & Wishart*, 412 pp, £6.

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an increased involvement in local and national politics and a big electoral swing to the Labour and Communist Parties. Though prior organisation was weak, the strike call had immediate and unanimous support. The state was well organised in all localities through the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies. Transport was the focal point in the attempt to defeat the strike and to create a semblance of normality. It became the centre of activity and demonstrations culminating in massive arrests. The number of strike-breaking volunteers depended on the class composition of the area. A Deptford and Lewisham study shows the disparity between neighbouring localities.

Whilst the local organisation took time to develop it was at its height when the strike was called off. Where the organisation was strong the police presented a low profile but with signs of weakness they were vicious. There is also a clear correlation between the number of Communists and the strength of organisation. The control of travel permits became important, and by giving them only for trade union labour it could mean full control by the Councils of Action—great lessons of workers' control were learnt. When the strike was called off it was everywhere still solid. It is saddening to read of the scale of victimisation of activists, many of whom didn't work for years.

There are a number of obvious organisational as well as political lessons to be learnt. Whilst in a long-term strike, such as the 1970 local government strike, a rolling programme may be useful, it is disastrous in a general strike. It obviously confused, frustrated and dissipated the power of the workers. It gave the government the view (correct as far as the TUC leaders were concerned) that the unions were only playing at it. It also meant that a lot of potential leaders and some of the most conscious and organised groups, for example, the engineers, were held back.

We must consider what changes have taken place within society and in the trade union movement since 1926. An important one must be the growth of trade union membership and consciousness within the white collar groups, their preparedness to take industrial action, and the gradual development of socialist awareness. This will mean not only a reduction in the number of skilled blacklegs (for example, supervisors) and volunteers, but also, as Angela Tuckett says: 'Today it would be inconceivable that intrigues would be carried on undetected and uncontrolled in the civic offices.' This is also true of students, whose attitudes and organisation have changed dramatically. There has been a growing liaison between the National Union of

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Students and other trade unions. Mutual recognition agreements have recently been signed between the NUS and the trade unions representing university workers, such as my own union.

The other important and relevant change in society is the development of the women's movement. The oppression of women and their lack of involvement was not necessarily connected with the failure of the strike. There were still women's organisations following the struggle for emancipation and there were women's sections of a number of unions. In writing about South Wales, Hywel Francis quotes the Stipendiary, D. Lleufer Thomas, when sentencing Mrs Elvira Bailey to two months in prison: 'I find that the women have been taking too prominent a part in these disturbances and I must impose a penalty that will be a deterrent to others.' References to meetings before and during the strike very often include a speaker from one of the women's organisations. However, the changing role of women in trade union and political organisations means that any repeat will naturally be different and include women to a far greater degree.

Whilst it appears very simplistic to say that the defeat in the General Strike was due to a sell-out by the TUC, that is the case. The reasons are more complex, but come down to their not being prepared to follow through the revolutionary action they had been forced to embark upon. We must consider how far this has changed and how much it still needs changing. There was a strong belief in the government's right to govern, and the TUC insisted throughout that it was industrial rather than political action. As Martin Jacques mentions, there were a number of trade union leaders who were prepared to use 'industrial action of a political character', This industrial action, 'though having industrial objectives, was of such a scale that it inevitably had enormous political implications.' The involvement of the state was so great that for the strike to succeed would mean its overthrow, or total capitulation and all the ramifications. As this was alien to almost the complete majority of the TUC, 'they ultimately accepted the political hegemony of the right,' and called off the General Strike.

We have a situation now where most trade union leaders are only prepared openly to attack a Tory government, and accept a Labour government carrying out similar policies. This runs counter to the view of most trade unionists who not only want to control management but to dictate to them. They also are as prepared to say no to wage restraint from a Labour government as from the Tories. The

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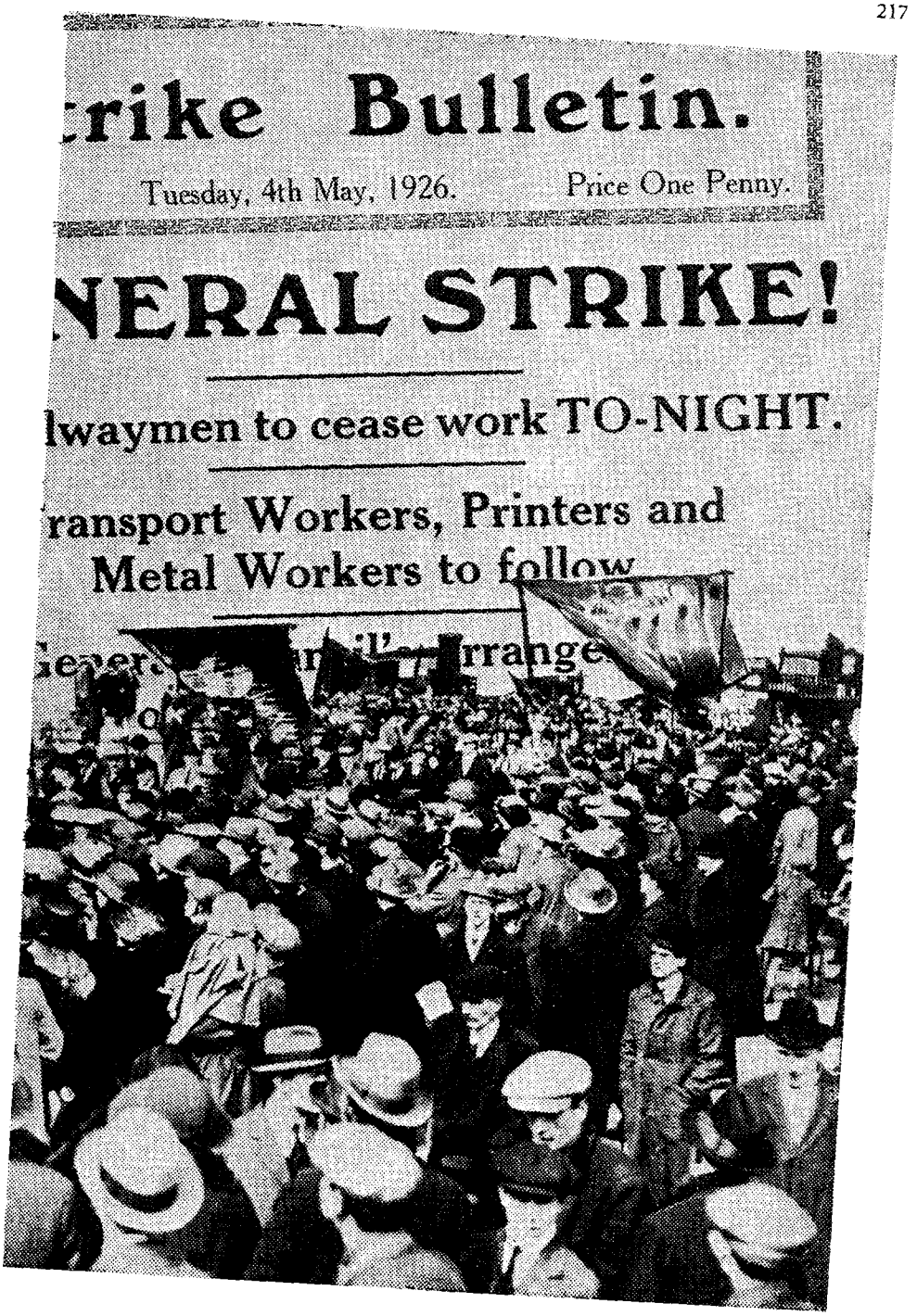

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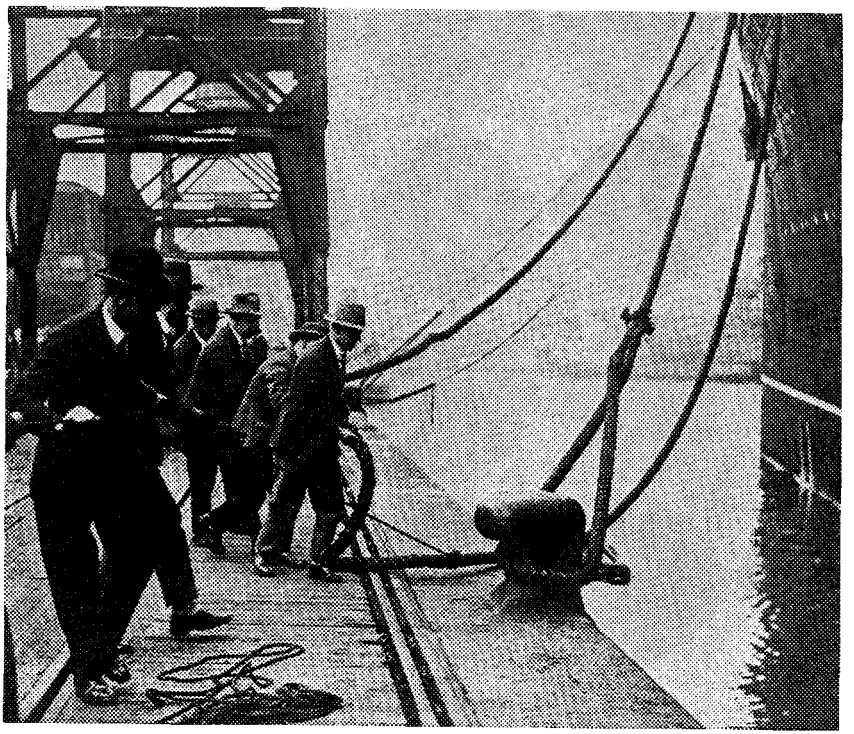
Mass meeting of Welsh miners during the strike



Middle class blacklegs at Southampton trying to berth the *Mauritania*

With acknowledgement to the James Klugmann Collection.

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(continued from page 215)
support for the recent unemployment assembly shows a growing gap.

Martin Jacques's essay deals with the Mond-Turner talks and the fact that these mutual recognition discussions were rejected by the employers. It is interesting to consider that Heath was successful where Mond failed, by bringing the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry together and into discussions with the government. Wilson finished the job by virtually bringing the TUC into the government and using them to beat down any opposition. By attacking wages, increasing unemployment, and cutting public expenditure, the Labour government is not only fulfilling the requirements of the capitalists but has got TUC sanction for it. Therefore the capitalist class at present needs a Labour government to avoid direct conflict with the trade union movement. This creates a contradiction not only for trade unionists but also for the employers.

This contradiction stems mainly from the failure of right-wing social democrats, the overwhelming majority of the TUC, to understand or accept the role of the state. As Klugmann says: 'Perhaps, fifty years after, the lesson that still stands out most clearly in relief is the importance for the labour movement to come to understand the nature of the state.'

RHODESIA: SECURITY CLAMP-DOWN

Margaret Ling

RECENT supplementary estimates tabled in the Rhodesian House of Assembly mean that the Smith regime is now setting aside nearly 20 per cent of its total budgetary appropriation for police and defence expenditure. The money to be spent directly on defence during the financial year to June 1976 is going up by nearly one-third; expenditure on the British South Africa Police by one-sixth.

This year is expected to be the 'roughest and toughest' that the Rhodesian regime has experienced to date in its increasingly desperate efforts to keep abreast of the armed liberation struggle. Since early January, the number of men deployed by the security forces in the field has increased by nearly two-thirds, and recruiting is actively proceeding to expand both the regulars and the reserves. Plans have been announced by the regime's Ministry of Defence to commission African officers for the first time in the army's history, and it is forecast that the present ratio of about three black soldiers to every

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two whites will rise until the 'vast majority' of the army are Africans. Now that virtually all available adult white males have been drafted into one form of military service or another, recruiting drives have been stepped up abroad. English language courses have also been introduced into the army to make fuller use of the large numbers of Portuguese-speaking settlers who have entered Rhodesia recently.

Since the beginning of this year, the official 'operational area' has doubled, and now extends down the entire length of Rhodesia's eastern border with Mozambique as far as the junction with South Africa. A new front, 'Operation Thrasher', has been opened in the south and east of the country, while contingency plans are acknowledged to exist to combat guerrilla incursions in the north and west. Between the launching of 'Operation Hurricane' in north-eastern Rhodesia in December 1972, and the end of March 1976, 86 members of the security forces are admitted to have been killed in battles with African freedom fighters. Counter-insurgency operations are co-ordinated through a committee system, or 'Joint Operations Command', bringing together representatives of the army, police, air force and civil administration.

As far as African civilians in the operational areas are concerned, security continues to be tightened up even further. Since August last year, the entire length of Rhodesia's border with Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana has been under a dusk-to-dawn curfew and protected by a 'free fire' zone varying in width from one to five kilometres. The security forces are under orders to fire at those apprehended near the border who fail to give themselves up when challenged, and on March 26 it was announced in an official communiqué that eleven curfew-breakers had been shot in the past two weeks alone. The border with Mozambique is heavily mined and protected by barbed wire-topped security fencing wired up to an electronic alarm system.

The regime's programme of mass population removal into so-called 'protected villages' (which are fenced) and 'consolidated villages' (which are unfenced but based on the same principle of amalgamating a number of hamlets or kraals together under armed guard and subject to a strict curfew) is now being extended southwards along the Mozambique border. In something of a departure from previous practice, and in a tacit admission that other methods of 'winning hearts and minds' have failed, spokesmen for the regime now concede that the primary purpose of the 'villages' is forcibly to break contact between the freedom fighters and the local population of the operational areas. Their defensive and strategic significance has always been

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obvious to the outsider, but in the past the main official emphasis was given to the idea that the villages were designed to 'protect' civilians from atrocities allegedly commited by guerrillas, and at the same time to promote economic and community development by consolidating people and services. The regime has recently stated that between 175,000 and 200,000 people have been removed into consolidated villages; the number involved is almost certainly much higher than this and may approach one million.

Responsibility for the protected villages is being progressively transferred from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Defence, and a new body of specially trained ex-servicemen, the Guard Force, is being formed to take over their administration in July this year. It is intended to put African warrant officers in charge of Guard Force units at different villages, thereby releasing white personnel for more active military service elsewhere. The Ministry of Internal Affairs employees, both black and white, who are currently posted in the protected villages and are responsible, *inter alia*, for the organisation of forced labour, have established a reputation for harsh and authoritarian rule. Like other members of the security forces, they are protected under the terms of the recently introduced Indemnity and Compensation Act from any legal proceedings resulting from acts committed 'in good faith for the purpose of or in connection with the suppression of terrorism'. Chiefs, as government-paid and appointed officials, can also claim the protection of the Act, and, under the frequently amended Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, have been granted powers of arrest, summary punishment and confiscation of property.

New Emergency Regulations published on March 19 this year appear designed to prevent independent welfare organisations from working in the protected villages and the border zones. They provide for the banning of any financial assistance to residents of the operational areas, where it is 'known or suspected that the money, or things bought with it, have been made available to terrorists.' Agencies such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, which has repeatedly called for an independent enquiry into alleged atrocities committed by the security forces, are obviously an embarrassment to the regime and could well find their work even more severely restricted by this new legislation.

In the country as a whole, there are indications that a new wave of preventive detentions is getting under way. Arthur Chadzingwa, a leading member of the African National Council who was released from detention in January to take part in the recent constitutional

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talks, has since been rearrested. The total number of Africans held in prison, detention camps and police stations without charge or trial is unknown although it is certainly at least as high as 800. Under Emergency Regulations the police are empowered to arrest without warrant and to detain incommunicado for up to 60 days. There is every reason to expect these and other powers to be put into effect with increasing rigour in the coming weeks.

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RESISTANCE IN CHILE

Pedro Cornejo*

IT is difficult for people to understand us when we speak of the Chilean resistance. When Europeans speak of resistance, so often they think only of the terrible struggles which had to be waged against the German fascists in the 1939-45 period, struggles which in most cases were waged against a foreign occupying army, in conditions of open warfare, and with allies beyond the borders massing their forces to invade and liberate territories.

The conditions for the Chilean people could hardly be more different. We are indeed engaged in a war. The military junta made this quite clear when they officially proclaimed a 'State of Internal War' in 1973. But it is a war being waged by a minute minority, in the name of foreign interests who do not wish to soil their own uniforms, against the overwhelming majority of our population, indeed against the people itself.

Our oppressors are engaged by no external war. And yet we are fighting for the very institutions, rights and property of our people—for the right to vote and to elect representatives, for our trade unions, for freedom of expression, for freedom from poverty and exploitation, for the right to work, for a living wage, for the ownership and control of our industries, our banks, our mineral resources, our land; and for the right to life.

The military control our country. They have closed our Congress, and burned the electoral registers. They invaded our universities and schools. They have converted our state into a gigantic auction room which echoes with the blows of their mallets, as they sell off our industries, our mines, and even our hospitals, to the first monopolist prepared to make a bid.

But they are not omnipotent. There are vital expressions of our people which they have been unable to abolish. Above all our mass organisations are still comparatively intact, and daily more active. They have been unable to destroy them all. And they have been unable to take over those which have remained. Wherever half a dozen people meet together—in church, in a sports club, at a parents' meeting, in the factories—voices of protest are raised and resistance is born.

In this situation, the role of our trade unions assumes vital im-

* Pedro Cornejo is the representative in Britain of the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT), the Chilean TUC.

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portance. We cannot hold meetings freely. But meetings are held, and the military 'observers' are forced to listen to speech after speech of bitter opposition to the junta's policies. We cannot elect our leaders. But so great is the pressure from the grass roots that the 'leaders' the junta has installed are forced to be our spokesmen. Let nobody doubt it: the trade unions in Chile today belong to us, not to the fascists.

Early in 1975, the military authorities published a white paper giving details of a new Labour Code which they proposed to promulgate within 60 days. To the present day they have not succeeded, while the mound of objections lodged with the Ministry of Labour now totals more than 800 documents. Some reports state that the Code will be promulgated in any case this May 1. But they will not succeed in applying it.

With unemployment almost 30 per cent of the total labour force, questions of social security become a simple matter of life or death for many families. Evasion of contributions by the employers has become virtually an institution (Santiago bus drivers recently held a public protest meeting about this). The junta now wants to formalise this state of affairs with new legislation which would eliminate everything we have fought for in this field in the past 50 years.

I have in my hands a copy of a letter sent on March 11 to the Ministry of the Interior by nine of the largest trade union bodies in Santiago, requesting authorisation for a trade union assembly in April to discuss social security reforms and the general trade union situation. I also have the Ministry's concise reply. Authorisation is refused 'because this Ministry will not authorise meetings between trade union organisations which have nothing further in common.' In other words, trade unions are to be permitted within industries. But just as our overall trade union body, the CUT, is outlawed, so all contacts between different trade unions are forbidden.

Nevertheless, in one way or another, that assembly will be held. The call for it went out from a meeting of 850 engineering workers in February. Representing 82 different branches, they demanded among other things the repeal of Decree No 198. One of the clauses of that decree lays down that trade union meetings cannot be held without authorisation from the Ministry of the Interior or military authorities.

Our white collar workers are equally explicit in their demands. The ANEF, our equivalent of your Inland Revenue Staff Federation, issued a public challenge to the Director of the National Institute of Statistics to explain how he arrived at the Cost of Living Index, since the experience of their members suggested that it was rising at

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approximately double the 'official' rate—upon which wage rises are calculated.

All of this activity constitutes active, public, mass defiance of the military junta. It is a measure of the extent to which the junta has been quite unable to impose its wishes on the trade unions and other mass organisations, despite the entire battery of military repression. The strength of this mass work gives us real cause for optimism.

But we are quite clear about one thing: alone, we cannot overthrow the military junta in Chile. We are asking trade unionists throughout the world to match the courage of our people, and to make what is for us a vital contribution: to cut off the military junta from its external sources of recognition, support and finance. That means that no arms must reach the junta's armed forces. The flood of credits from the World Bank, the IMF, the US government and the private banks must be cut off. Foreign investment must be halted. The junta must be prevented from carrying out its project to increase non-traditional exports—which consist of the food out of the mouths and the clothes from the backs of our people.

The multinationals showed us their power on September 11, 1973. We are asking the trade unionists of Britain and the world to show them that their power, their unity, and their profound sense of international solidarity are forces to be reckoned with. The workers of Britain have already set a fine example, for which we are profoundly grateful. We ask you to maintain the pressure, and wherever you can to extend it.

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'CORRECTION' AND CENSORSHIP

John Peet

NOT so long ago, the film *Cabaret*, starring Lisa Minelli, was playing in the cinemas of both West Germany and East Germany. That is to say a film with the same title was screened, with considerable success, in both states; however, people who went to see it twice, once in the Federal Republic of Germany, and once in the German Democratic Republic, noted some odd differences.

Cabaret is of course based, at several removes, on Christopher Isherwood's well-known novel of the 1930s, *Goodbye to Berlin*. This novel, set in Berlin in the years immediately preceding the Nazi take-over, had a definite though rather muddled anti-Nazi viewpoint. (Isherwood did some work in Berlin for MOPR—International Red Aid.) And the anti-Nazi tendency was still just visible in the film *Cabaret*. The millions of people who saw the film in Britain, America and other parts of the world, will recall for instance a short scene of Nazi storm troopers beating somebody up, and, probably more memorably, a scene in an open-air restaurant in which a blond youth, a prototype Nazi, arouses a typically nondescript crowd of Germans with a sentimental Nazi song.

These two scenes were, quite naturally, retained in the film as shown in the cinemas all over the German Democratic Republic. In the version of *Cabaret* screened in the Federal Republic of Germany they had been quietly dropped. In March, incidentally, many West Germans got a chance to see the film uncut when it was shown by the GDR TV service at peak time on a Sunday; GDR TV can be seen in a large part of West Germany.

If the film distributors in West Germany had been queried on this cut, they would probably have explained that (a) the film was too long anyway, and (b) that they had checked the film for inaccuracies, and these scenes were historically inaccurate. At least, reasons like this have been used in the past by West German publishers and film distributors when explaining why they have emasculated British or American books and films dealing with the Nazi era.

Many cases of this 'silent censorship' have undoubtedly gone unnoticed, for few people are likely to compare, sentence by sentence, the original English text of a thriller or spy story with the version provided in West German translation. In recent years I happen to have noticed such censorship in the West German translation of

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Bomber by Len Deighton. This book is a fictional reconstruction of an RAF raid on a German town during the Second World War; the action shifts from what is happening up above in the bombers, to what is happening on the ground in the bombed town.

The West German translation subtly changed the emphasis, glossing over passages about unpleasant Nazis which, the publishers believed, might offend West German readers. It should perhaps be emphasised that *Bomber* was by no means an anti-Nazi propaganda book; author Len Deighton concentrated almost entirely upon the mechanisms of such an operation, showing how the RAF attack was planned and mounted, and how the air-raid warnings, fire brigades and so on, functioned on the ground. Despite this, the West German publishers found censorship necessary; they explained that they had simply straightened out erroneous details on badges of rank in the fire brigade, and things of that sort; and this 'straightening out' just happened, of course, to improve the image of some of the Nazi characters.

The way in which this silent censorship actually operates can best be demonstrated on a case which occurred some years ago, but which has been thoroughly investigated. In 1954, Hutchinson, London, published a book entitled *A Time to Love and a Time to Die* by Erich Maria Remarque, author of the world famous anti-militarist book, *All Quiet on the Western Front*. In the same year, *A Time to Love* was published in German by West German publishers, Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

A comparison of the two editions shows that 30 sentences or paragraphs had been deleted in the West German edition; every single one of these deletions dealt with Nazi crimes—descriptions of mass shootings, hangings, concentration camps.

In addition to the straight blue-pencilling, there were many direct falsifications. In the English original a 'positive' character was shown quite plainly to be a former member of the Communist Party; in the West German version he becomes a Social Democrat. At the other end of the spectrum is a thoroughly nasty character named Steinbrenner. The English version of the book makes his background quite plain:

> Steinbrenner came from the SS. He possessed the golden insignia of the Hitler Youth. Now he belonged to the (Wehrmacht) company, but everyone knew he was an informer and a Gestapo spy.

And this key sentence of characterisation, and every other reference to his political affiliations and his background as a concentration

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camp guard, is deleted from the West German version of the book. The West German publishing house was challenged at the time about the censorship which it had undertaken. The answer came in a classic epistle from Dr Joseph Witsch, the publisher, printed in the West German *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* on October 19, 1954:

> We naturally checked the manuscript very closely, particularly with regard to a true reproduction of the milieu, the correct titles, and the correctness of the political values. In some places we have corrected exaggerations. . . .

Another case of 'correction' is probably worth mentioning because it has a wider application; it is the only case I know of in which the entire story of a feature film has been cancelled in the course of dubbing, and another story substituted.

Back in 1946, Alfred Hitchcock made a rather poor thriller called *Notorious*, starring Cary Grant and Ingrid Bergman. It told the story of how big-shot Nazis were smuggled away to safety in the immediate post-war period.

In 1951 an astute West German film distributor purchased the film. At that time the West German authorities were releasing war criminals as fast as they could, and the whole of the 'recent unpleasantness' was being swept under the carpet. A thriller with an anti-Nazi plot was untimely; so the distributor calmly changed the plot. The main story remained the same: a gang of smugglers confront a group of anti-smugglers. All that had to be done was eliminate the Nazis and replace them by drugs. Apparently nobody noticed at the time, and the whole extraordinary business only came to light in 1973, when West German TV, sorting through old films for the box, discovered that two Hitchcock films, one about Nazis and one about drugs, were absolutely identical except for the dialogue in the West German version. The West German TV went to the trouble of redubbing the film with the original story. It was still a poor film.

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

There are those who argue that capitalism is recovering, and there are therefore no inevitable struggles in front. This argument is the obvious cover for the retreat into reformism, and the refusal to face the tremendous issues that are confronting the working class. It is an argument that flies in the face of the facts. Does the situation in Britain show recovery? Do the figures of production, trade, unemployment or wages show recovery?

(From 'Notes of the Month' by RPD, *Labour Monthly*, May 1926)

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CORRESPONDENCE:

Trade Union Education

IN HIS ARTICLE (*LM*, February 1976), Jim Fyrth says that Jock Shanley (August 1975) argued that independent working class education was 'killed off' when the TUC took over the role of the National Council of Labour Colleges on the initiative of George Woodcock. The NCLC was not taken over on Woodcock's initiative. Woodcock liked the NCLC as much as the devil is supposed to like holy water. When, however, it was taken over as a result of the influence of our unions, Woodcock wiped out all its socialist educational work.

Jim Fyrth is wrong in suggesting that it was on the motion of the National Union of Mineworkers that the TUC started negotiations to take over the NCLC. These negotiations started when the National Union of Railwaymen in 1957, on the motion of its president, a former NCLC student, moved a motion at the TUC which caused the General Council to start seriously considering taking over the NCLC and rationalising trade union education. Fyrth is also wrong in stating that, in the years that followed, the NCLC could not claim any great advances. In fact, during that period the NCLC obtained many new British trade union affiliations, including unions not in the TUC, as well as the affiliation of a substantial number of overseas trade unions in British colonial territories. Even during its last year it was asked by a Turkish union and also by an Angolan union to help establish postal course work for them. The Australian TUC had also started to negotiate for the use of NCLC postal courses which, for some years before, were being provided by the Victorian Labour College of Australia. It will be clear from these statements that Jim Fyrth is quite wrong in saying that in the post-war era the NCLC 'was moribund'. Such allegations seem surprising coming from a man who describes himself as 'Senior Staff Tutor, London University Extra-Mural Department', but they help to explain why the NCLC believed in independent working class education in economics and history and not in university education on these subjects. Actually, during the post-war years we made great progress, not only in adding to our union education schemes, but in adding many new postal courses, so that in the end we offered 75 of these, our highest number of postal students rising to over 21,000 studying in one year.

Some of the hundreds of thousands of trade unionists and others who took part in the NCLC's work will be interested to know that Dr John Lowe and I have just finished a history entitled *The Labour College Movement*, which we hope to have published within the next year.

J. P. M. MILLAR
Honorary Secretary
National Council of Labour
Colleges and Plebs Trustees

Jim Fyrth replies:

J. P. M. MILLAR confirms that the TUC took over the role of the NCLC (and incidentally the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee) on trade union, not Woodcock, initiative. But while the 1957 NUR resolution led to the successful negotiations, the initial moves had come a decade earlier from the NUM resolution.

He underlines my estimate that, apart from a relatively small number of one-night stands and weekend schools, and help with some trade union national schools, NCLC activity after the Second World War was almost entirely in correspondence courses. All engaged in adult education

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know that the number of affiliations to an educational body is no indication of sustained educational work among union members and is sometimes a substitute for such work. I look forward keenly to the book on *The Labour College Movement*, and trust that it will analyse the correspondence courses, with numbers of students completing as well as starting courses and the subjects which they took. We shall then be able to judge how much of this valuable work was in trade union skills (chairmanship, statistics, etc) and was expanded by the TUC, and how much 'socialist educational work' was 'wiped out' by Woodcock.

Millar misses the argument of my article, which was that there is more trade union education today than at any time past; that most of it is suited to the immediate needs of rank-and-file activists and much of it under effective shop-floor control; that special books and materials (such as the Arrow *Trade Union Industrial Studies* which Shanley criticised) are needed for these students; that the labour movement needs continually to discuss and influence what is being taught and that, in addition, there is need for an organisation carrying on socialist education throughout the labour movement. In my view such an organisation should extend the knowledge and understanding of Marxism in the British labour movement—a task which I do not believe the NCLC did to any marked extent after 1945, though I would welcome evidence which proved me wrong.

Cornish National Consciousness

IN ANSWER to J. Mackie (*LM*, April 1976), there was no secret as to John Wesley's social and political conservatism, but he began his evangelical work in Cornwall in 1743, before there was any 'real radicalism' anywhere in Britain, and his influence was by no means confined to this county. It is not as well known that even in his lifetime a democratic movement arose among the rank-and-file Methodists in Cornwall. In 1790 the Methodists at Redruth, principally miners, asked permission to elect their own 'class leaders', which Wesley refused with the words: 'We are not republicans, and never intend to be.' After Wesley's death the miners, fishermen and small farmers set up their own 'connexions', such as the Bible Christians who were described as 'staunch Radicals in politics and total abstainers to a man'. When Lord Soper opposed the Korean war he had staunch supporters in Cornwall. The extent of Methodist influence in Cornwall today is controversial.

ALFRED JENKIN
St Austell, Cornwall

Civil Liberties

IN HIS REVIEW of Barry Cox's *Civil Liberties in Britain* (*LM*, February 1976), F. H. Amphlett Micklewright discussed the question of the extent to which the National Council for Civil Liberties should advocate freedom of expression for organisations such as the National Front which are generally considered to be undemocratic. Unfortunately, limitation of space probably caused him to condense his argument in such a way that it became confused with the separate question of the position of the USSR 'faced by the forces of counter-revolution'.

There are two answers to this. The first is that NCCL believes that adults are entitled to make up their own minds on any issue and should not be shielded even from pernicious views like fascism. How does anyone obtain the right to decide what someone else may see or hear?

The second is that NCCL is not an organisation involved in party politics;

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whether it should be is a matter which has been debated for many years. Its function in today's society is to try to make the state and its law-enforcement agencies, such as the police and the courts, observe the freedoms to which they are so ready to pay lip-service until there is a real challenge to their way of life. The state is always ready to attack the rights of trade unionists or the right to publish 'subversive' books and pamphlets but much less ready to prosecute fascists or racialists.

If NCCL were to be politically selective in the cases it took up, its credibility and sincerity would be easily derided and it would become virtually ineffective. It must, therefore, champion the rights of every minority within the law in order to make our society live up to the freedoms it is so proud to proclaim but so ready to undermine.

MALCOLM HURWITT
Executive Committee
member of NCCL

Conservation

NEW TIMES, new tactics, fresh situations, additional policies. What happens to those parties that cannot adapt and get left behind?—especially when new situations take precedence over old—transformation of quantity into quality.

Applied scientists have been engaged in the development of new and cheaper (labour saving) processes and also thousands of new chemicals. Pure scientists have discovered that many of these chemicals and processes are destroying the environment which supports our lives. These new processes require ever larger amounts of energy. As a result, oil consumption is doubling every ten years (*World Energy Strategies*, Amery B. Lovins). How long can oil production keep pace with this? The only cheap oil is from the Middle East. Newer oil sources such as under-sea oil are many times more expensive: to extract oil from shale even more so. Even so, the total amount of extractable oil is finite. Ditto coal, uranium and metals. Scientists have warned us that we are borrowing from the future.

To cut a long story short, the bourgeoisie, in their race for profits, are killing nature's goose that laid the golden egg. Before 2000AD the resulting shortages are going to have a catastrophic effect upon industry and our way of life.

In order to circumvent this, conservationists are working out a planned economy which takes into account the limitation of natural resources, population, pollution, etc. They also have a research establishment in Cornwall which is working on production of the necessities of life with the minimum of energy requirements and of pollution—also use of solar, tidal and wind power (*Economist*).

But it is still the old, old story of class interests. Capitalism secures the maximum profits by utilising all resources as quickly as possible and so 'running them into the ground'. Where is this going to leave us by the year 2000?

Most conservationists are unfortunately not yet Marxists, so they fail to see this as a new aspect of class struggle. Marxists can give a lead to conservationists, but conservation is also giving a lead to Marxists! The USSR is going in for conservation in a big way because they can see what will happen if they don't. The Chinese have always been conservationists because of the necessity caused by poverty, and they still are.

What sort of socialism will we be able to build if we first allow the bourgeoisie to use up (mostly in waste) most of the sources of non-renewable

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minerals, pollute the oceans, rivers and atmosphere beyond the ability of living matter to survive, while the population and the size of cities expands till it is no longer possible to cope?

Marxists and *Labour Monthly* will need to pay more attention to this important aspect of the class struggle. Conservation is already slowly spreading inside the Labour Party, is fully accepted (on paper) by the Liberal Party and is also accepted by the Fabian Society and Socialist International and by the Building Workers' Union in Sydney.

S. JACOBY
Derby

General Strike

YOUR CRAMLINGTON article and pictures (*LM*, April 1976) were first class. What is important is that one of the people involved was able to give us the straight story.

Should any other readers have photographs, leaflets, strike bulletins or personal stories of the strike, we would be grateful if they would offer the material for use in a trade union-sponsored exhibition to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary. This is to be held in London at Covent Garden in July.

JOHN GORMAN, Exhibition Organiser
Sutton House, Homerton High St.
London E.9.

BOOKS

Britain in the Nineteen Twenties
Noreen Branson
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 274 pp, £6.95

NOREEN BRANSON has succeeded in the difficult task of encompassing in 274 pages the story of the events, movements, technical advances and changing outlooks of 'the turbulent decade'. I heartily recommend it; the generation who lived through those days will find our memories organised into a coherent pattern. Others will welcome this recital of events they have heard about, for much of what was happening 50 years ago does have relevance to the present.

After the end of the 1914-18 war there was a feeling abroad that the old men who had led us into the ghastly experience of the war must go; the young would take over from those 'hard-faced men who had done well out of the war'. The Russian revolution and establishment of the first workers' socialist state fed these hopes.

These vague aspirations soon melted as we entered into a decade of slumps and head-on confrontations between capital and labour, with successive governments siding with the employers, and betrayal by many of those who could have furthered our hopes. Many chapters are rightly devoted to these protracted battles and to that highest point, the 1926 general strike.

During the twenties some sections of workers, especially in the newer, developing industries, did achieve advances in wages, but wages remained low in the older heavy industries. Perhaps the most noteworthy achievement was the reduction in working hours without loss of wages. Allowances to the unemployed and old people, despite some improvement, remained miserably inadequate and hedged about with demeaning restrictions. But above all, through their struggles the workers enhanced their stature—they were not 'hands' but upstanding men and women, capable of thinking and organising.

The scope of this survey is wide:

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of great interest is the chapter 'Industrial Change', with the development of new industries and shift of manpower away from production into administration alongside insufficient modernisation of much of the means of production by capitalists who increasingly invested abroad. Other sections cover many aspects including attitudes to the Soviet Union, Ireland, the position of women, housing and education, formation of the Communist Party, new leisure activities (cars, cinema and radio), and growth of anti-war feeling.

The book gives a wealth of information and is by no means dry. There are lively accounts of such episodes as the revolt of the Poplar Guardians, and telling quotations from leading figures. One of these latter I found really startling: Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, asserted that the 1919 railway strike had been engineered by a small but active body of men who 'wrought tirelessly and insidiously to exploit the labour organisations of this country for subversive ends.'

HILDA VERNON

Long Road to Delano
Sam Kushner
International Publishers, 224 pp, available on order from Central Books

SAM KUSHNER brings out in this book most vividly the struggles of the farm workers of southern California as they emerge from serfdom and strive to build a strong, democratic, independent trade union. He digs deeply into the long, rich history of struggle by countless thousands of rural people, people with mixed nationalities, religions and cultures, fighting for some form of organisation and unity. The employers and land barons exploiting these differences show themselves determined to hold on to their cheap labour force.

Kushner analyses the early attempts at organising the workers and then outlines the new methods advocated by Cesar Chavez, the leader of the American United Farm Workers Union (UFWA), when he called for membership and organisation first and then action, as against the earlier experiments of action by a few with the object of inspiring others to join the movement.

The call, '*Huelga*', the Spanish word for strike, has echoed through the fields of southern California. The growers and establishment have reacted in a brutal way. The outlawing of parades held without permits, which had become their traditional method of publicising their demands, prevented the workers from marching in the cities and fields.

The UFWA were fighting opposition from all sides, not only from the growers, but from the so-called International Brotherhood of Teamsters Union, which was expelled in 1957 from the AFL-CIO after charges of corruption had been laid against its leadership.

The *Long Road to Delano* is not just a record of events, it is a call for assistance from all who can help the gallant UFWA with its approximate 40,000 members. The grape and lettuce boycott has won over important elements of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leadership. George Meany of the AFL-CIO said at the time that the Teamsters were clearly union busting. They are engaged in a campaign to wipe out the UFWA. For the largest union to seek to destroy this small, struggling union, representing some of the most exploited workers in the nation, is intolerable.

Whilst the UFWA is small, Cesar Chavez states: 'We are strong in spirit, we are wealthy in honesty and determination. We've made up our mind to accept whatever sacrifice

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comes our way in order to win.'

Sam Kushner in writing this book has made a valuable contribution to those making a stand against oppression and also to those wishing to be associated with the struggle by playing some part, in spite of being long distances from the scene of action.

WILF PAGE

Understanding Philosophy: A Popular History of Ideas

James K. Feibleman

Souvenir Press, 240 pp, £4

THE BLURB tells us that the author began his career in business, only later turning to philosophy. I think this is a case of the business world's gain being philosophy's loss. Not being an expert in philosophy, I approached his book with caution. I was amazed to read such eclecticism and downright bias from a man who bears the title of philosophy teacher.

He could be loosely described as a liberal pessimist firmly on the side of bourgeois thinking although given to criticism of their nastier habits. 'We have our lapses, but theirs [Asian countries', i.e. the Soviet Union and China] are not lapses because they do not subscribe to the doctrine of humanism in the first place. Starvation, genocide even, are not unusual nor regarded with horror as they are in the west. The German Nazis, notwithstanding, this is not in general the approved Western way of life.'

His error in crediting Thomas Hobbes with authorship of the original Social Contract, and not Rousseau, pales into insignificance beside other howlers. The Crusades were failures; some happened to come back with loot. The French resistance was inspired by Sartre's existentialism. Marx took no part in political action once he had left Germany, and the *Communist Manifesto* is a call to 'bloody revolution'.

Feibleman writes: 'The man who thought he had solved the dilemma with which science confronted philosophy was named Karl Marx. He did so by claiming that philosophy and social science are one and the same thing. He was wrong, of course, but never has an error had such an impact.'

Go to the bottom of the class, teacher.

GEORGE ANTHONY

Fuels Paradise: Energy Options for Britain

Peter Chapman

Penguin, 236 pp, 75p

PETER CHAPMAN'S major aim is to explore possible energy policies for Britain. Using recently developed techniques of energy analysis, he first attempts to evaluate how much energy we actually *need*. He then explains, in simple language, the science underlying the technologies of energy use and conversion. This leads to a revealing chapter on the climatic effects, both local and global, of the heat produced by fuels. He offers convincing evidence that these effects impose a physical limit on the rate at which fuels can be used in the future.

Finally, Chapman considers in some detail three energy policies for Britain till the end of the century: 1. Business-as-usual (carry on as we are); 2. Technical-fix (planned reduction in fuel-consumption growth plus technical improvements); 3. Low-growth (all possible technical improvements plus a changing lifestyle to achieve further fuel savings). All three policies involve social and political problems in addition to the technical ones. A socialist reader will realise that a capitalist society is unlikely to be able to solve them.

It is not really necessary to read the dull and somewhat off-putting

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parable—about an energy-conscious community—which starts the book. Once past it, there is an informative, well-presented argument, essential to anyone wishing to understand the energy problems facing Britain. It soon becomes evident that the facile solutions that are so often presented to the general public are irrelevant, if not dangerous.

FRANCIS APRAHAMIAN

Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966
Michael Hechter

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 362 pp, £6.25

CELTIC NATIONALISM has taken to itself a new dimension within the last decade. Revolt in the six counties of Northern Ireland has been accompanied by a tremendous groundswell of Scots nationalism and by a lesser nationalist uprising in Wales. The governmental movements towards devolution are a significant sign of the times even though they may fail to satisfy the more definite Scots separatists.

So far, the six counties of Northern Ireland have been alone in witnessing a violent and revolutionary separatist movement whilst both Scots and Welsh nationalism have adopted a reformist and constitutional path. But the emergence of such bodies as the Tartan Army or the Army of the Provisional Government of Scotland are a serious warning that, unless Scotland is appeased, this constitutional approach may not always be the case. A poll conducted by Granada Television has shown that no less than 80 per cent of the Scots are demanding some form of home rule. Governmental dithering can only further inflame the situation.

In view of these facts, Professor Hechter's important book has an especial significance. Some readers may be irritated by the constant use of the jargon drawn from modern sociology. It is a pity that the historical side is not stressed and developed more strongly. For example, Jacobite traditions in Scotland were of a far deeper significance in creating an inherited opposition to the Act of Union than might be gathered here. The origins of Scots nationalism are to be traced in a detailed history of the countryside.

Nonetheless, Professor Hechter leads the reader to some important conclusions. National feeling is a vital factor in a properly international picture. As John Maclean saw, it is the ally and not the opponent of the class war, whilst nationalism which overlooks the class war and is concerned solely with separatism is in grave danger of breeding a form of fascism.

Professor Hechter's major conclusion is one of the deepest importance. England has consistently exploited the Celtic fringe. Criticisms of colonial imperialism are all to be traced out in this field where the results, however, have been varied. Welsh perspectives were altered radically by industrialisation. Socialist movements tended to be English-based with the result that South Wales came to think of the class war rather than the national heritage. It is not without significance that Welsh language and nationalistic movements still tend to come from rural Wales.

Scotland had a history which involved both the shattering of the clan system through the highland clearances and the industrialisation of the lowlands. It was only gradually that a national consciousness recovered itself during the nineteenth century. Today a Gaelic cultural re-

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vival is taking place side by side with nationalist demands based upon Scotland's claim to the North Sea oil.

Ireland has one constant history of exploitation which finally led to revolt and the secession of the twenty-six counties. At the present moment an oppressed Celtic population in the six counties is making similar demands for liberty.

All these points and many more are to be gleaned from Professor Hechter's pages.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT

Collected Works, Vol 4

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels

Lawrence & Wishart, 780 pp, £3

TOGETHER WITH *The Holy Family*, Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England* is the major work in this fourth volume, spanning the year (autumn 1844-autumn 1845) when Marx and Engels were beginning their close working relationship.

In the 132 years since Engels's great work—the first of any such study that not only points to the *suffering* of the proletariat but declares that its very suffering would lead to its own self-emancipation—much has changed in the conditions of life and work in England. Some employer practices have fallen in the face of powerful and prolonged working class pressure, others to the changing needs of technological development (and technology itself being forced forward by working class demands for changed conditions). But Engels saw beyond the stark fact of cruel and brutalising conditions of working life, seeing that while capitalism lasted, working and living conditions for the masses would *always* be at the depth to which the drive for profit could succeed in depressing them. His clinical description of the English bourgeoisie is a classic by any standard: 'It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold. In the presence of this avarice and lust for gain, it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted.' Engels would not simply recognise the Britain of today, but see how the truth had multiplied with the years. He considered that the condition of the working class was 'the real basis and point of departure of all social movements', because it was 'the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day.'

Volume 4, like its forerunners, is splendidly put together, with valuable annotation, newly-translated materials, and overall careful checking with all originals. For anyone who has not yet started buying this long-term and reasonably priced series, now is the time to catch up.

ALAN BROWN

Prostitutes

Jeremy Sandford

Secker & Warburg, 228 pp, £4.50

STATISTICS collected or hazarded, on the basis of police arrests or VD figures, by the author suggest that there are 100,000 prostitutes in France, possibly 200,000 in West Germany, maybe a million in Italy, 500,000 in Spain, anything up to 550,000 in the United States. For Britain he guesses the figure to be 50,000. What is obvious to any member of the general public apart from all this is that the British total is backed up by a vast and loathsome commercial machinery—indecent and suggestive advertisements in public places and journals, widespread propaganda through the ordinary cinema and theatre stage, well-publicised 'blue' films and 'sex shops'.

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Less prominent but no less characteristic is the existence of a dozen or more pornographic magazines, freely sold, some of them with circulations exceeding 400,000.

This book about the unfortunate women whose bodies form the object of this private enterprise is not only a heartrending and infuriating record of their lives, delusions and disappointments. It also confirms everything that socialists have ever said about the origin in class society of this 'peculiar institution' (to use the excuse of the defenders of negro slavery a century ago). 'Money was the most frequent reason given . . . it means I can buy things for the kids. . . . We earn every penny of it in sweat, tears and sometimes in blood. . . . Money gets you anywhere. . . . For someone who only earns £22 a week working in an office, to earn £30 a day' (on blue films) 'is very tempting.' Moreover, most people will be astounded (whatever they suspect) at his description of the network of organised exploitation in this field—brothels (frequently raided but as frequently reviving), call-girl arrangements, 'escort' agencies and 'massage' parlours—not to speak of police corruption.

Mr Sandford has his own, far from original, proposals for coping with this situation, based on his belief that 'prostitution is a necessary social service.' They recall the old French 'tolerated houses', the former regulations for 'the Queen's daughters' at the service of the British Army in India, and modern West German practices: licensing of brothels, registration and medical inspection of prostitutes. They are as repugnant today, when the liberation not the sexual exploitation of women is the world's demand, as they ever were. But the experience of a socialist society, as recorded in international (League of Nations) documents of the thirties, and despite the furious lie-campaign which broke out when the Bishop of Southwark referred to that experience lately, has shown that abolishing the 'necessary social service' of the capitalist system itself deals effectively with prostitution too (though not of course with that of the occasional victim or weakminded accomplice of surviving parasite elements).

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

Brighton and the General Strike

Ernie Trory

Crabtree Press, 32 pp, 20p

PUBLISHED fifty years after the biggest general strike Britain has yet seen, here are eight lively contemporary eye-witness accounts of a typical incident of police violence against strikers.

All transport workers were involved from the first: Brighton was the headquarters of two important road transport undertakings in the south, Thomas Tillings and Southdown Motors. It was therefore not surprising that, when police and mounted 'specials' tried, on the eighth day, to force scabs through to re-start trams, the 'Battle of Lewes Road' took place outside the tramways depot, with a score of arrests and some injuries. The author gives a full introduction of the national background and some local detail emerging from the Amalgamated Engineering Union records. Of the Battle of Lewes Road, it would have been illuminating to know the numbers involved and whether the scabs were blacklegs or volunteer strike-breakers, especially as he suggests that two months earlier the local British Fascists were preparing to intervene.

A.T.

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The Queen *v* Desmond Trotter: An Account of the Trial in Dominica
Tony Gilbert
Liberation, 16 pp, 10p

TONY GILBERT has become one of Britain's leading spokesmen for those who suffer from imperial (in)justice. He has now taken up the case of Desmond Trotter, held in jail in Dominica for two years awaiting a final decision on a death sentence which, as Gilbert's pamphlet shows, should never have been imposed.

The work of all those who have agitated for the reprieve of Desmond Trotter has proved successful. After the Privy Council had refused to hear his appeal, the chief witness in the case repudiated her evidence as having been police-inspired. The Committee of Mercy in Dominica then granted a reprieve.

On February 29, the *Observer* devoted an article to the case, and referred to the campaign for Trotter's release, but the essential facts, as given in Gilbert's pamphlet, were not mentioned. Thus Trotter is reported to have been arrested under conditions which, Trotter himself testified, did not exist. Nor is the flimsiness of the 'evidence' mentioned in the *Observer* (it was accepted by only two judges out of three), nor the nature of the witnesses.

The *Observer* may be congratulated on drawing attention to the case, but not on withholding from its readers any information as to where they could get fuller information from the 'defence campaign' whose literature it quoted.

Observer readers or not, Tony Gilbert's pamphlet gives a concise picture of the case, and it is highly readable. P.S.

The Executive Council of the Foundry Section of the AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS

send May Day greetings for peace, progress, freedom and international solidarity to workers in all countries throughout the world

R. GARLAND
General Secretary

J. BRADSHAW
President

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Strikes and the Government 1893-1974, Eric Wigham. Macmillan, 206 pp, £10.
Fathers and Daughters, Cathy Porter. Virago/Quartet, 308 pp, £5.95.
Peking Man: The Discovery, Disappearance and Mystery of a Priceless Scientific Treasure, Harry L. Shapiro. Allen & Unwin, 190 pp, £3.95.
Conversations with Kennedy, Benjamine C. Bradlee. Quartet, 252 pp, £4.50.
Moulds of Understanding: A Pattern of Natural Philosophy, Joseph Needham. Allen & Unwin, 320 pp, £7.75.
Housing Policy and the Housing System, Alan Murie, Pat Niner and Christopher Watson. Allen & Unwin, 282 pp, £6.95.
Changing Childcare: Cuba, China and the challenging of our own values, Socialist Childcare Collective. Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 24 pp, 30p.

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SALES AT CONFERENCES

OUR April issue seems to have made its mark in several ways. We have had notes from many regular readers welcoming the introduction of Pat Sloan's monthly 'Survey'. Geoffrey Drain's article was rapidly quoted on the opening page of the April 2 issue of another journal, *Municipal Engineering,* under a picture of NALGO and NUPE members in Edinburgh on a joint march against cuts in public expenditure.

A reader in Cheshire showed her appreciation of the article by Solly Sachs, adding £1 for the fund (which will of course be acknowledged in our next issue; the March contributions are listed below). A friend telephoned from Glasgow to ask if a print of our centre page photograph might be available for inclusion in a junior workers' committee exhibition there. From Newcastle came word that four copies of *LM* had been sold to new readers in the labour movement whose particular interest was also the Cramlington article and pictures.

During the month we had a total of 212 extra copies out for sale at trade union and Co-op conferences—starting with the National Assembly on Unemployment. These sale-or-return parcels are still our best means of promoting *LM* among those most likely to become subscribers, as the growing need for 'a magazine of left unity' is felt in the labour movement.

Volunteers are needed to take similar steps to sell this issue on May Day and on May 26, as well as at numerous conferences during the month. Write or ring us if you can help. You don't need to be over-ambitious: we are ready to send small packets or large to suit the time and opportunities of volunteers.

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REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'Oliver Twist' £1, 'Patrick' 50p, Marie Philibert 25p, N Marcus £5, B D Youatt £3, M M and J W M (per L H NZ) 25p, E Dymock 25p, Len Potter £1, Len and Stella Perkins 25p, Les Bates (+ Proos) 40p, H Brindle 25p, Oldham Branch 15p, Blackburn Branch 15p, J Rink 25p, L'Humanité 50p, J D (Canada) £5, A Corbett £1, A Calder 25p, Conway Xavier £1, R Paul 50p, W J Glennie 50p, Ben Ainley £1, E C £1, K and B R (USA) £3.25, W H Laithwaite £5, R N Miller 50p, W J Daniel £1, I J Pearce 50p, J Purton 37p.

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Our thanks to you all. **Nicola Seyd**

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sends May Day greetings to all workers

Let us unite behind our new Labour leader and Prime Minister, James Callaghan MP

DANIEL McGARVEY
President

National Union of Mineworkers

(Yorkshire Area)

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The Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section of the AUEW

says recall the TUC, recall the Labour Party Conference, defend jobs, defend living standards, restore free collective bargaining.

Barry Seager
President

Ken Gill
General Secretary

AUEW-TASS, Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond Surrey

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